

THE NEGRO IN GRANVILLE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA
AS REFLECTED IN THE OXFORD PUBLIC LEDGER AND
OTHER RELATED SOURCES, 1880-1900

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SUMMARY

PURPOSE

The original proposal of this thesis was to research the available records to confirm a preconceived conclusion that the Negroes in Granville County had been socially, economically and politically dormant during the twenty year (1880-1900) time period. Upon reading the Oxford Public Ledger, this proposal was reversed and my sole intent was to dispel this idea from the minds of the men and women now in Granville County. Educational and religious influences and contributions have never been disputed. Oral traditions and the fact that so many churches exist in Granville County attest to this. Thus, political activities which were predetermined by the social and economic affairs of the day, came about. My underlying concern evolved as pointing out more atrocities suffered by blacks in the United States and most especially in Granville County.

Records often failed to give full credit where credit was due and more than often no credit was given. But, by using the Oxford Public Ledger, oral history and those available records, an attempt has been made to bestow laurels upon the deserving; to awaken the black public to a political revival; and to inform the local general public of its total history. Black political revival is direly needed. Lack of

motivation is a key factor. This thesis, I sincerely hope, will be one source of motivation stimulating mass black registration and participation in politics, by all blacks, in Granville County.

INTRODUCTION

Present day Granville County has not encountered many dramatic changes since the 20 year span 1880 to 1900. Progress has been made slowly in technological advancements which would create an economic base to support and stimulate political, educational and social changes. Being a pre-dominately rural state, North Carolina's chief economic base is agriculture. Due to the geography, topography and climate, Granville County did not attract an industrialized based economy, but was completely agrarian during the period under study. Even Oxford, the County seat, was no booming urban center. Located in the northern Piedmont region and bordered by Virginia, rivers were unfavorably located and did not afford enough power to interest manufacturing to the area. These factors caused Granville County to become one of the large tobacco producing centers of the state.

The county was formed out of land which was once Edgecombe County. In 1746, Granville County was named in honor of John Carteret, son of Sir George Carteret, one of the eight proprietors of the Carolina Colony given by Charles II of England, who became the Earl of Granville.¹

¹John Hill Wheeler, Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584-1861 (Baltimore, Md.: Regional Publishing Co., 1964), p. 161.

"Lord Granville's territory was from 35° 34' south, to the Virginia line on the north and from the Atlantic Ocean on the East, to the Pacific on the west."² In 1881, Granville receded lands in its eastern section for the formation of Vance County. (See appendix I.) Thus, Granville County has remained its present size for ninety years surrounded by Vance, Franklin, Wake, Durham and Person Counties.

The period to be studied begins just after Reconstruction which some historians state ended in 1877. Within this period evolved the climax of the Populist Movement out of which arose Fusion politics. The Populist Movement terminated in the anti-climax of 'white supremacy' and disfranchisement of Negro voters. With the stage set and the actors in place, the epic unfolds.

The date 1880 was chosen to begin this study because it marked the decade following Reconstruction; and in 1881 a section of Granville County was annexed to form Vance County leaving the present area; in addition, publication of the Oxford Public Ledger began in 1881 and has continued publication to the present. The closing date, 1900, was chosen because the amendment to disfranchise Negroes was passed by the legislature. North Carolina's eastern shore counties formed the 'Black-belt counties'. Granville County is not an east-

²Harry T. Mathis, Along the Border (Oxford, N. C.: Coble Press, 1964), p. 9.

ern county, but labeled as a 'black county' due to its large black population. Tobacco production necessitated a large labor force; slaves provided this force before the Civil War. Thus, Granville County had a large population of free Negroes, especially after emancipation.

From historical studies, North Carolina has been a state known for rather lenient laws controlling slaves. This in part was due to the influence of Quakers, Moravians and Scotch-Irish in the West, the Piedmont and central counties.³ Another contributing factor in the small slave population was North Carolina's dangerous coastline which prevented ships from engaging in direct African slave trade. Slaves were brought in through an indirect route. Thus, planters had to buy slaves from Virginia at the original cost plus the dealer's profit and transportation.⁴ In 1860, Granville County was one of the seven counties which constituted the stronghold of the slavery system. The other six counties were in eastern North Carolina.⁵ However, in the same year

³John Hope Franklin, "Slaves Virtually Free in North Carolina", Journal of Negro History, XXVIII, (July, 1943), 286.

⁴Rosser H. Taylor, Slaveholding in North Carolina: An Economic View, James Sprunt Historical Publications, Vol. XVIII (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1926), pp. 20-21.

⁵John Hope Franklin, The Free Negro in North Carolina 1790-1860 (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), p. 149.

Granville County was one of four Piedmont counties with more than 900 free Negroes of eight counties in the state.⁶ This pattern prevailed throughout the last decades of the 1880's.

⁶Ibid., p. 17.

CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

Tobacco production was the major source of revenue for citizens of Granville County. Tobacco markets and farms provided employment for Negro Laborers. In a list compiled by John Hope Franklin, of the occupations of free Negroes in 1860, no tobacco hands were listed. One could conclude, however, that these workers were included in the 70 farm hands.¹ Statistics of 1860 showed that slaveholding counties which produced tobacco were not larger than cotton producing counties. Granville County contained only 13 plantations of 1000 acres or more and the slaveholding was 11.2.²

Soon after the Civil War, tobacco production replaced a fairly diversified agricultural economy. In 1870, Oxford had two warehouses to market the flue-cured leaf, and three stemming and re-drying plants. Over 500 seasonal workers were employed.³ Of this number, some seasonal workers must have been Negroes. Oxford was virtually unknown

¹Franklin, The Free Negro in North Carolina, p. 134.

²Rosser H. Taylor, Slaveholding in North Carolina: An Economic View, pp. 35-36.

³Oxford, North Carolina Population and Economy (February, 1965), p. 30.

as a tobacco market outside North Carolina in the 1870's, but by 1885, Oxford had become a renowned market along the eastern seaboard due to an increase in facilities and advertising. (There were eight small tobacco manufacturing establishments in Oxford and Granville County by the mid 1880's.) Growth of the tobacco industry was hampered by the lack of a railroad and underdevelopment of warehouses and banking facilities. Associations were formed to overcome these obstacles; thus, enabling Oxford to become the heart of the Golden Belt. Tobacco was chiefly grown in the northern tier of North Carolina counties. Granville County has two kinds of soil -- "red heavy soil and light sandy soil . . ."⁴

The former lies mostly in the northern and northwestern parts of the county, the latter is in the southern portion. The former is productive of wheat, oats, rye, the grasses, corn, heavy red tobacco, and cotton; often producing without stimulus 20 bushels of wheat to the acre. Upon the latter soil is grown the celebrated Granville light yellow or gold leaf tobacco, that sometimes sells for one dollar a pound . . .⁵

Travel in Granville County was limited by poor roads and lack of railroads. The tobacco railroad only ran to

⁴Historical and Descriptive Review of the State of North Carolina, Including the Manufacturing and Mercantile Industries of Towns of Durham, Fayetteville, Henderson, Oxford, and Raleigh and Sketches of their Leading Men and Business Houses (Charleston, S. C.: Empire Publishing Company, 1885), I, 102-104.

⁵Ibid., p. 104.

Henderson.⁶ Fruitless efforts were made to acquire railroad rights-of-way for Oxford. The absence of railroad services in Oxford hampered the economic growth of rural Granville County. Trains usually afforded employment for Negroes, but the Negroes in Granville County were denied this means of livelihood and the transferal of tobacco manufacturing to Durham at the turn of the century further hampered economic growth. A white concern, Davis & Gregory, which sold fertilizers, wagons and buggies, advertized:

. . . It is natural then that those establishments who not only furnish the agriculturist with that most useful of all his supplies, fertilizer, but who handle the vehicles by which transportation of his goods is accomplished, as well as those which give populations removed from railroads the only means of conveyance, occupy a first and very important position in the economy of wealth. . . .⁷

Negro property owners were numerous. The Record of Deeds showed many instances in which Negroes purchased lands. Difficulty arose in using the county records due to the rather odd practice of not designating race. However, those 'known' Negroes substantiate the above statement. Property ownership, education, and political activity merged in the emergence of such personalities as Hanson T. Hughes, William H. Crews, Hugh Tilley, Banky Gee, Walter A. Patillo, Matt C. Ransom and George C. Shaw. This list is of course

⁶Ibid., p. 100.

⁷Ibid., p. 106.

incomplete and one must keep in mind at all times that many others who made the 'Black History' of Granville County will remain anonymous. The Negroes in Granville County and Oxford will and are reaping a harvest sown by ever faithful sowers.

Banky Gee purchased a parcel of land in 1888 for \$500, containing about half an acre more or less adjoining the lands of said Banky Gee. . . ."8 From the description of the location, this land was in Oxford's business district. Although the records showed no other entries of purchases made by Banky Gee, the one entry indicated ownership of other land.

Of 33 stores in Oxford, 3 were Negro. Only one white store was valued above B. Gee's general store which was estimated to be worth ten thousand dollars. Gee's business was prosperous although he abandoned it to live in Chicago.⁹

No records of whom he sold or willed his property to can be found. Efforts to find out what Negroes owned the other two businesses proved unsuccessful.

From Franklin's 1860 study of occupations of free Negroes in Granville County, many Negroes worked in service occupations. This pattern prevailed. Mrs. Jane Parham,

⁸Granville County, Record of Deeds, Bk. 41, p. 531.

⁹Frenise A. Logan, The Negro in North Carolina 1876-1894 (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 115.

'Aint Jane', was a mid-wife who served the black and white mothers of Granville County.¹⁰ Hanson T. Hughes, who served in the State Legislature, was a barber by trade.¹¹ Hughes had many purchases entered as did Reverend Walter A. Patillo. Reverend Patillo's earliest purchase was recorded in 1883. Subsequent recordings revealed that purchases were made at public auctions and payments were taken up for others. In 1891 a parcel of land was purchased for \$600 and sold in 1893 the "said parcel for the sum of five hundred ninety-one 91/100 dollars cash in hand. . . ." ¹²

Organized labor was objectionable in Oxford. Growth of the Knights of Labor started when secrecy was abolished in 1881. In Oxford around 1887 organizers of the Knights were objects of much ill-feeling. "Another case of opposition occurred in Oxford, North Carolina. . . . the local assembly was hampered from its inception and 'no stone was left unturned to create ill-feeling against us.' " ¹³ The Haymarket murder, Republican success and the acceptance of

¹⁰Interview with Mrs. R. W. Harris, Sr., Oxford, N. C., May, 1970.

¹¹William A. Mabry, The Negro in North Carolina Politics Since Reconstruction, Trinity College Historical Society Papers, (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1940), p. 23.

¹²Granville County, Record of Deeds, Bk. 47, p. 392.

¹³Sidney H. Kessler, "The Organization of Negroes in the Knights of Labor", Journal of Negro History, XXXVII, (July, 1952), 262.

Negroes as members were given as reasons for opposition. During a local election, the Knights and Negroes were accused of arson. The lack of evidence and the discovery of the arsonists ended the accusation against the Knights but not the hatred. A packed jury convicted a master workman on a false charge; a riot ensued. Property-holders, workers, farmers and businessmen opposed merchants, clerks, aristocratic loafers, dudes, speculators and a few lawyers from becoming members of the Knights of Labor.¹⁴ Membership grew, however, because "men see that what we want is just and right and our enemies in their blindness only advertise us and put men to inquiry, thereby showing up their prejudice and baseness."¹⁵ Rejection of labor unions was nationwide, thus Oxford followed the national trend. Evidence of the occurrence of this event was not mentioned in the collection of Oxford Public Ledger editions.

About ten years before the Civil War, copper was discovered in the northern tier of Granville County near Virgilina, Virginia. Gold was discovered in the area during the same period changing Virgilina from farming to a mining community. Reportedly, ". . . this district is hardly out of the prospecting stage and it is generally believed that

¹⁴Ibid., p. 263.

¹⁵Ibid.

as good or better mines will be discovered than the ones now being worked."¹⁶

Coal has been found in surface deposits 6 miles west of Oxford, on Tar river. No scientific investigations have been made, but expert geologists pronounce the outcropping indicative of a fine quality of the "black diamond." There are valuable copper mines in the vicinity of Blue Wing; the Royster mine is now being worked successfully by a Pennsylvania firm. Whetstones are found in the northern part of the county--the finest quality. Gold is also in the same region; the Lewis mine prior to the war yielded a handsome income to its owners. Hematite iron ore and granite also abound in great quantities. The mineral resources of this county are quite undeveloped.¹⁷

If the report seemed a bit exaggerated, its purpose was to make Oxford and Granville County attractive to future settlers and business concerns. The mines proved to serve as an enormous economic booster although most of the owners were out-of-state investors. One copper mine was discovered in 1880 by William S. Holloway. Ownership of this mine changed hands several times before William Pannebaker of Pennsylvania bought the Holloway mine in 1897 when the actual development began. The list of owners showed only one person from Oxford ever owning the mine for a one year period.¹⁸

The Blue Wing Copper Mine was sold in April 1897 at a public

¹⁶Mathis, Along the Border, p. 35.

¹⁷Historical and Descriptive Review of the State of North Carolina, . . . Durham, Fayetteville, Henderson, Oxford and Raleigh, p. 105.

¹⁸Mathis, Along the Border, p. 35.

auction; a Robert Lassiter paid \$3000 for 230 acres of land.¹⁹ In mining for copper traces of gold were discovered. A reprint in the Ledger from the Durham (North Carolina) Sun expressed enthusiasm in the gold mining operation. The article also indicated that the location of the mines was not in one general area, but that they were spread over an extensive area -- Person County, North Carolina and Mecklenburg and Halifax counties, Virginia. The article, "The Gold Fever in Granville", stated:

The Sun was informed this morning that renewed interest has been awakened in the Cheatham gold mine . . . , the gold fever is booming. . . . The operators . . . greatly encouraged. The indicators are . . . valuable finds.

Why go off to the frozen regions of Alaska when we have such undeveloped wealth in our own state?²⁰

Although no blacks owned even a share in the mines, blacks did work in the mines. The operation of the mines served as an economic stay to many local black families. Mining created jobs indirectly connected with the actual removal of ore. Saw-milling expanded; mule-trading became more prosperous; boarding houses were opened affording black women employment; and, black housewives added to their household accounts by selling home-baked pies to the miners during

¹⁹Granville County, Record of Deeds, Bk. 50, pp. 507-8.

²⁰Oxford Ledger, August 5, 1897.

the dinner break.²¹

With the good of the mines came danger and grief:

A horrible and fatal accident happened at the Holloway copper mine in Granville County about noon Monday in which a negro man by the name of Standfield lost his life in the most fearful manner imaginable. . . .²²

The railroad came to Tuck's Crossing in 1889. Tuck's Crossing was incorporated in 1900 as Virgilina.²³ The railroad connected Virgilina directly with Norfolk, Virginia. Although the railroad was in Virginia it provided jobs for the residents in the northern tier of Granville County.

In conclusion, it is apparent that tobacco became and remained the economic mainstay of the county. Negroes were employed in connection with all stages of processing tobacco. Farming in general was the source of livelihood, but Negroes worked at odd jobs to increase their income. Most often these jobs were of a service nature in the homes of or business concerns of the white citizenry. Mining operations directly and indirectly created a job market for Negroes. These markets proved to be a major economic booster to blacks in the mining areas who served as saw-millers, mule-breakers, railroad and road-builders and

²¹Interview with Mrs. Irena Burton, Virgilina, Va., September, 1970.

²²Oxford Ledger, June 21, 1900.

²³Mathis, Along the Border, p. 95.

domestic jobs for women. Thus, blacks became less financially dependent on whites and with the breaking or loosening of the financial yoke blacks launched out into various social and political avenues.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION: AN OUTGROWTH OF RELIGION

As this epic unfolds it is revealed that the most dramatic influence in the history of Negroes in Granville County has been education coupled with religion. It must be remembered that the first leaders to appear among Negroes were free. Following the Civil War it was those from this group who emerged as leaders. They took the initiative to establish separate churches. Since one of the most important activities of the freedman was centered in the church, preachers became the largest and most influential body of leaders among Negroes.¹ The same was applicable to Granville County. Baptists led other denominations in producing outstanding black leaders; all were not preachers! One outstanding Presbyterian migrated to the county becoming the spokesman for education for Negroes in Oxford and Granville County.

Baptists were a dominant group because the only Negro churches were Baptist.* This stemmed from the fact

¹John R. Larkins, Patterns of Leadership Among Negroes in North Carolina (Raleigh, N. C.: Irving-Swain Press, Inc., 1959), p. 18.

*The black United Methodist and Episcopal churches organized after 1900.

that most of the earliest white settlers were Baptists. Freedom and democracy in the Baptist church enabled Negroes to participate and indulge in social activities much earlier than in other denominations. Members of both races formerly belonged to the same congregation. However, slave membership rose and separate services were held, giving rise to a total separation and the building of separate edifices.² This was the origin of the black Baptist church in Granville County. Reverend Harry Mathis said of the Baptist church: "The Baptist form of government, stressing the freedom of the local congregation appealed to the freedmen after the War Between the States. In a self-governed church, the Negro found an opportunity for self-expression, recognition and leadership."³ From the religious leadership arose educational and political figures. Those leaders who were college trained usually attended Shaw University in Raleigh, which, like all black Baptist schools, stressed religious training.

Public education gravely concerned Negroes and their churches, therefore, served a dual purpose. During the week days the local church was a school and on Sundays the congregation gathered for Sunday school or to hear the

²Walter H. Brooks, "The Evolution of the Negro Baptist Church", Journal of Negro History, VII (Jan. 1922), 14-15.

³Mathis, Along the Border, p. 316.

gospel. The Deed of Blue Wing Baptist Church read:

. . . Witneseth that for & in consideration of the sum of one dollar to me (C. A. Tuck) in hand paid the receipt /sic/ whereof is hereby acknowledged & the further consideration of the love & respect we (C. A. Tuck and wife) have for religious & educational advantages hath given granted bargained & sold by these presents doth give grant bargain sell release & deliver unto said Trustees & their successors in offices so long as the land is kept & used alone for Religious & Educational purposes.
 . . .⁴

Most rural churches held worship services only monthly or bimonthly. Negroes in Granville County, as Negroes in North Carolina and the South, felt that education was the major key in unlocking doors to voting, justice and equality. Whites also shared this conviction and often educated Negroes were scornfully respected although more often hated.

This was evidenced by an article appearing in the local newspaper. From its content, it may be surmised that a white citizen wrote the article in praise of George Clayton Shaw and in criticism of Negroes:

Dear Sir: It is with pleasure that I note the space allotted to Rev. Shaw this week in your crowded column. The above gentleman has met with opposition from those he would serve as is the usual fate of reformers and he deserves all encouragement in his efforts to elevate his people.

The most discouraging feature of the race problem, now after 30 years of changed conditions resulting from the 15th. amendment, is that tendency among negroes to combine whenever one of their

⁴Granville County, Record of Deeds, Bk. 44, p. 266.

number rises above the average in intelligence and ability to drag him down to the common level.

It is inexplicable why a white demagogue (a product of the scum of the earth) can secure a negro following who will tumble over each other to lick his feet, while men of their own race, whose daily lives give abundant evidence that they are disinterestedly working for the good of their own people are turned down.⁵

The above article referred to the Reverend George Clayton Shaw. Reverend Shaw founded the Timothy Darling Presbyterian Church and Mary Potter School in Oxford in 1888. Born in nearby Louisberg, North Carolina, of slave parents who were house-servants, George Shaw was influenced by missionaries under the auspices of the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. In 1886, he received the Bachelor of Arts Degree from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. After attending Princeton Theological Seminary for a year, Shaw transferred to Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, New York, where he completed his course of study in 1890.⁶

Reverend Shaw's story is classic in relating his struggle and determination in establishing a church and school to educate the Negro boys and girls in Granville County. He came to Oxford in 1888 to start a Negro Presbyterian church in Oxford. Finding only one Negro Presby-

⁵ Oxford Public Ledger, Nov. 15, 1895.

⁶ Owena H. Davis, "A History of Mary Potter School", (unpublished Master's thesis, North Carolina College, 1942), p. 1.

terian in Oxford, Shaw was immensely discouraged. Mrs. Harriette Howell, the sole Presbyterian, encouraged the establishment of a church and "became the reassuring midwife for the laborious birth of Presbyterianism among Negroes in Granville County."⁷ The summer passed successfully. Shaw returned to Auburn for the school term. Arriving in Oxford in the spring of 1889, he found his "church doors closed and congregation scattered."⁸ Determined, George Shaw solicited the financial aid of Dr. Timothy Darling, a seminarian instructor, and Mrs. Mary Potter, special Secretary of the Freedman's Board in Albany Presbyterial. Their contribution was \$300.⁹ With this sum, a lot was purchased for \$250 and construction was begun on the school.¹⁰

Returning to Auburn for his senior year, Shaw left his brother, William Shaw, a graduate of Lincoln University, in charge of opening a school. The church, named for Dr. Timothy Darling, served as the school and received community support. After graduation in 1890, Dr. Shaw returned to Oxford with a new wife, who took charge of the

⁷Ibid., p. 3.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., pp. 2-3.

¹⁰Granville County, Record of Deeds, Bk. 43, p. 100.

school in September. Due to the large enrollment a second teacher was employed. Her salary was paid through contributions of local citizens. Heading this appeal was Oxford's prominent Negro businessman, Banky Gee.

Two years later boarding students were accepted. Numerous requests from rural students were received. Poor roads, limited transportation facilities and hazardous weather conditions prompted Dr. Shaw's decision to accept boarding students and to expand the church-school. He again appealed to Mrs. Potter who used her influence in securing a contribution of \$2,000 from the New York Synodical Society.

In 1898 Mary Potter School graduated its first class. Three pupils received preparatory diplomas, and one returned as a teacher the following year. Students who had attended Mary Potter School prior to the first graduation were admitted to Lincoln University because of preparatory training received from Dr. Shaw. Training was primarily religious and the Bible was the primary textbook. Other books and materials were donated by northern missionaries.¹¹ The previously mentioned letter to the editor would lead the reader to believe that Negroes were un-cooperative in the early struggles of the establishment of Mary Potter School. However, Dr. Shaw "won the confidence and cooperation of the

¹¹Davis, "A History of Mary Potter School", pp. 5-8.

local white and colored citizenry."¹²

Mary Potter's alumni, over the 81^{*} year history, have attested to the high standards established and maintained by Dr. Shaw and his successors. Their history, however, would take us into another time period.

Public education during the 1880-1900 period was at a low ebb. Education was a private responsibility. Public interest in education was low in the South. The North Carolina Constitution provided for education of both races but on separate basis, "but there shall be no discrimination in favor of, or to the prejudice of, either race."¹³ Whites held a strong conviction against educating Negroes because education would aid in making Negroes unruly and "to imbibe seditious and incendiary doctrines through their reading."¹⁴ Granville County whites held the same convictions. After the Civil War, each church or church community had a school. In 1895 the County Superintendent of Public Schools, W. H. P. Jenkins, who was elected in June, 1881, reported on the conditions of Granville County schools:

In 1881 the public schools of Granville County were in lamentable condition. Number of school districts for whites 33, for the colored 33. Number of children of school age, whites

¹²Ibid., p. 7.

¹³North Carolina, Constitution, 1868, Art. IX, sec. 2.

¹⁴Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 229.

*In 1970 Mary Potter became a Middle School due to integration.

3,466; colored 3,655; total 7,121. Number of schoolhouses for white race 12, for colored race 16. Value of public school property for whites \$580; colored \$1,645;--Most of the buildings were log cabins--total \$2,225. Number of schools taught for whites, 30; for colored, 50. Number of pupils enrolled said schools: whites, 985; colored, 1,720; total 2,705. Average attendance of whites, 650; colored, 1,050; total 1,700. Quite a few schools were taught in churches and deserted tenant houses. The standard of scholarship was low and the schools were conducted with little government and less discipline, and so unpopular in some localities that they were almost a byword of reproach. The standard of scholarship was gradually raised till the third grades entirely disappeared, and there has not been one issued in Granville County since 1890.

. . .¹⁵

At this point Prof. Jenkins began to praise his accomplishments in the upgrading of public education as revealed in the following table:

<u>White</u>	<u>Colored</u>	
40	40	School districts
41	39	School houses (framed, large, well-lighted, thoroughly ventilated)
\$8,125	\$6,050	Total value of schools \$14,175
44	42	Public schools taught for each race
1,800	2,300	Number of students
1,200	1,350	Average attendance
\$29	\$27	Salary (monthly)

School terms were four months. Noted were 53 private white schools with an enrollment of 1,860.¹⁶

¹⁵Oxford Ledger, July 12, 1895.

¹⁶Ibid.

A comparative and more objective study reveals that whites benefited more from Prof. Jenkins' improvements. Negro schools were greatly devalued when compared over the nine year period from 1881 to 1890. To show just how unequally apportionments were made, the Ledger printed a report:

The Board of Education met in regular session Monday, January 4th, 1892. . . . The said committee ascertained, after careful examination that nine thousand five hundred dollars (9,500.00) was the full amount that could be legitimately apportioned.¹⁷

Of the forty school districts in the county, only 12 'colored' districts received larger apportionments than did the same white districts. The total amount apportioned for the whites was \$14,949.25, and for the 'colored', \$4,550.75.¹⁸

The number of private schools in Oxford and Granville County evidenced the concern white citizens had for education. Their interest in Negro education proved chameleonlike--that is to say that their genuine interest in Negro education was in relationship to how it would benefit them financially and not how to advance Negroes. In 1891 an article, "We Want It", appeared in The Orphan's Friend. This paper started publication in Oxford in 1873 as the official mouthpiece of the white

¹⁷Ibid., January 12, 1892.

¹⁸Ibid.

Masons to relate news of the white orphans of the state to the brethren. F. M. Pennix served as editor of this paper with many contributing writers.¹⁹ The Orphan's Friend supported a Negro move to secure a Colored Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Our colored citizens are moving to secure the location in Oxford of the new Colored Agricultural and Mechanical College. They will raise all the money they can among themselves and ask the businessmen to help. They want to get several thousand dollars, besides a site, to offer as a bonus.

This College would be a valuable acquisition for our merchants, as it would turn loose about thirty thousand dollars a year. . . .²⁰

The article then listed why Oxford would be a suitable location--"accessible to the eastern portion of the state where the greater number of colored people reside."²¹ Oxonians were so hopeful that railroad connections would improve the transportation that a site was even donated. This, the writer feels, was done for economic gain rather than a genuine interest in educational advancement of Negroes. The 1897 editions of the Ledger exposed just how unstable whites were in support of Negro education. On the one hand, a 'colored' teacher was praised--"The colored school in (district) 32 under the management of Ben L. Crews closed last Saturday with a splendid enter-

¹⁹Scrapbook of local newspapers collected by John Hays in the Richard H. Thornton Public Library in Oxford, N. C.

²⁰The Orphan's Friend, March 6, 1891.

²¹Ibid.

tainment. . . . He has been faithful in the discharge of his duties . . . commands the respect of all classes of people. . . ."²² Just a few months later, however, the Ledger was against the passage of the school tax and law.

If we were to judge of the actual blessings of education . . . ,--by results in the last five years we could not be hopeful or enthusiastic. Seeing how negroes who can read invariably, what manners of men they have chosen as public officials, what measures they had favored and still favor, we would be compelled to say that such education as they have received by the taxation of whites had proved a dead failure. . . ."²³

This anti-school tax sentiment became a political issue in 1900 with white supremacy and Negro disfranchisement. "We are not opposed to educating the negro. We favor it along the lines now being carried out by Booker T. Washington, the greatest negro who ever lived on American soil. And we favor it apart from politics."²⁴

This was precisely the line of educational training at the Grant Orphanage Asylum. The Orphanage was incorporated as a non-denominational institution to receive children deprived of their parents and means of support, and to train them along religious, moral and industrial lines in order to fit them for useful law-abiding citizens."²⁵

²²Oxford Ledger, April 8, 1897.

²³Ibid., August 5, 1897.

²⁴Ibid., March 15, 1900.

²⁵Report to the Board of Directors of the Central Orphanage of North Carolina, 1969, p. 5.

Conception of the idea for forming an orphanage was in 1882 in the persons of Dr. and Mrs. Augustus Shepard. The orphanage was born in 1883 when twenty-three acres of land were purchased one and one-half miles from Oxford and named the Grant Orphanage of North Carolina and re-named the Colored Orphanage Asylum in 1887.*

The Board of Directors of the Colored Orphanage consisted of Granville County and surrounding area's prominent Negro citizens: Reverend Augustus Shepard, Reverend Joshua Perry, Reverend W. A. Patillo, Reverend Isaac Alston, Reverend J. W. Levy, Mr. M. T. Thornton, Mr. H. E. Long, Mr. Henry Hester and the Honorable H. P. Cheatham, ex-Congressman who was born in the county. The Reverend Joshua Perry was elected superintendent in 1883 and served one year. Miss Bessie Hockin, a Canadian, succeeded him. She donated her furniture to the Orphanage and worked for no salary. It was during this time Mr. Henry Hester assumed the responsibility of paying all bills in providing food for the orphans. In 1886, the Reverend W. A. Patillo became the superintendent and Mrs. Adline Cogwell began working as a matron. Mrs. Cogwell

*In 1927 re-incorporated as the Colored Orphanage of North Carolina; for the first time, by order of the Governor, five whites named to the Board. Ibid., p. 6. In 1965 renamed Central Orphanage of North Carolina by act of Legislature. Ibid., p. 8. Since the original writing of this paper the Orphanage's elementary school, Angier B. Duke, has been closed in an attempt to create a more favorably integrated system.

worked to support the orphans while receiving no pay for her work at the institution. Reverend Robert Shepard took over the reins of the Orphanage in 1887 and served to 1907. He was given board by Reverend M. C. Ransom until accommodations were completed at the institution. Forty-four acres were purchased in 1895 for farming at \$1,440. In 1898 another acre was purchased. The land became the site of the superintendent's home--a nine room frame structure.²⁶

Reverend Matt Ransom was a teacher and served as the pastor of the largest black church in the county and the city of Oxford. His reputation as an able religious leader and educator was statewide. While in Granville County, Reverend Ransom served as pastor of the First Baptist Church, as president of the Education Association and "principal of the 'Oxford High School' "²⁷ He resigned these positions in 1896. Reverend W. A. Patillo "took charge of the school taught by Reverend M. C. Ransom who retires to do Missionary work in the State."²⁸ The Ledger announced Reverend Patillo's arrival in the county before announcing that Reverend Ransom was resigning. Reverend Patillo was highly praised

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Oxford Ledger, January 24, 1896. Records of the Superintendent of Granville County Schools show that until 1936 only one high school, Mary Potter, existed for Negroes.

²⁸Ibid., January 10, 1896.

by the Ledger as, "one of our able colored teachers . . . who we feel safe in saying is the right man in the right place."²⁹

Thus, white interest in education seemingly motivated black interest on the local level. Blacks received the rudiments of education in the public schools and in many instances were sent to private and out-of-state boarding schools. The interest was beyond just the rudiments in that blacks attended and sent their children to Mary Potter, many of whom attended college. Educational advances coupled with a certain degree of economic stability made for the political gains made in Granville County. Self-interest has been displayed by the local institutions--schools, orphanage and churches,--and the contributions rendered. Although white missionaries helped, the bulk of the burden was shouldered by the local black citizenry who bore the burdens of physical and moral support.

²⁹Ibid.

CHAPTER III

FUNCTIONS FOR SOCIALIZATION

Even before the 1896 decision of Plessy v. Ferguson sanctioning the separation of the races on public conveyances, North Carolina had amended its constitution for the separation of the races in schools. North Carolina's Reconstruction constitution of 1868 was amended in 1875. At the January, 1868 Constitutional Convention, 107 Republicans attended--including 18 carpetbaggers and 15 Negroes; and 13 Democrats. Thirty amendments were added as a result of Reconstruction experiences. Bad government was the rule of the day, however, North Carolina suffered less than did some Southern states. Of the thirty additional amendments, six dealt directly with Negroes: separate schools; no interracial marriages; no secret political organizations; residence requirements for voting raised; justices of the peace appointed by legislature; and, power over local affairs increased.¹ These amendments only legalized practices which already existed.

¹Federal Writer's Project of the Federal Works Agency Work Projects Administration, North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of N. C. Press, 1939), p. 47.

The constitutional provision against interracial marriage read:

Intermarriage of whites and Negroes prohibited. All marriages between a white person and a Negro, or between a white person of Negro descent to the third generation, inclusive, are hereby forever prohibited.²

An article in the January, 1886 Atlanta Monthly was quoted by R. H. Taylor concerning a white woman in Granville County who "had negro lover's blood injected in her to say she had negro blood so she could marry."³ Not only was interracial marriage frowned upon, but in Granville County Robert W. Winston, who later became a judge, said in urging whites to rid themselves of black rule: "I paid special attention to the Negro candidate for the Register of Deeds, Walter Patillo, whose privilege it would be to issue marriage licenses to white boys and girls."⁴ In a black/white social setting such as this, the article appearing in the Ledger in 1897 is not surprising:

I saw something today I have never saw /sic/ before. A negro had a white man under arrest at Woodlief's store near the Granville County line. The negro was a Wake county negro and the white man was a Granville man. It seems the negro informed or swore

²North Carolina, Constitution, 1868, Art. XIV, sec. 8.

³R. H. Taylor, "The Free Negro in North Carolina", The James Sprunt Historical Publications, Vol. 17 (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1923), p. 21.

⁴W. A. Mabry, The Negro in North Carolina Politics Since Reconstruction, p. 28.

out the warrant before Jas. M. Davis, a justice of the peace of Granville County, and he deputed the negro to execute the warrant. . . . I heard the oldest inhabitants say they never saw the sight before. . . .⁵

Negroes committed crimes and were victims of white crimes in Granville County. However, not too many crimes were written up in the Ledger. The crimes committed by Negroes which were published included murder, larceny, assault and rape upon white women, gambling, disturbing the peace due to drunkenness, and Negro mothers abandoning babies. During the time that William H. Crews (Negro) was a Justice of the Peace, these crimes persisted. The cases for which W. H. Crews issued the warrants were limited. One case was heard in November, 1895 and the other cases were dated in 1896. The decisions in three cases out of the four proved to be "not a true Bill,"⁶ and one case was not heard. In many instances the Superior Court Clerk did not write the name of the justice issuing the warrant. In the same light the Criminal Minutes of Granville County failed to name the jailor, although the Sheriff's name was given in some instances. The time period would imply that William Royster, who will be discussed more fully in the chapter on politics, was then the jailor. With no names or race designated, this is only circumstantial evidence.

⁵Oxford Ledger, December 2, 1897.

⁶Granville County, Criminal Docket Bk. 4, pp. 410-11; 436-37; 454-55; 470-71.

In reading the Criminal Docket, one case involved a William Royster. The question arose: "Was this the same William Royster who was the County jailor and County Commissioner?" Implications would say YES. The facts of the case and later editions of the Ledger, although bias, would support this conclusion. The case, State v. William Royster, was heard during the July Term, 1895, by the Superior Court of Granville County, North Carolina. The charge was larceny.

Warrant from a J. P. /sic/

The Grand Jury found a true Bill against the Defendant William Royster, and a Jury being sworn and empounded to try said case, and having tried the Same, Say for their verdict that the Defendant is guilty. The Judgement of the Court is that the Defendant William Royster be confined in the County Jail for four months, with leave to the Commissioners of the County to hire him out, and pay costs.⁷

The Ledger would indicate that the County Courthouse became a social haven for Negroes during the time William Royster was the jailor. A white juror was elated by the absence of Negroes in the courtroom:

There was no Bill Royster, Coley Gill, Monroe Sikes and Billy Brown messing around surrounded by a large number of their black brother bench warmers. We have had our last of the black dose, as our people will never again submit to these piehunters and bench warmers and jug and bottle suckers. . . .⁸

With no black 'official' in the Courthouse, blacks refrained

⁷ Ibid., pp. 380-81.

⁸ Oxford Ledger, August 2, 1900.

from attending court sessions.

A case of interest involved two whites charged with stealing a Negro's mule. When the whites were sentenced to ten and six years, respectively, a petition was drawn up by white citizens and the decision was reversed. The Negro man was sentenced to two years for gambling with the white men.⁹ Over the period of time, only one hanging was mentioned, however the subsequent editions of the Ledger never revealed the actual hanging. A black man had been accused of molesting a young white girl.

Perhaps, the reason for the few crimes in Granville County was the influence of the churches. The black churches dealt with the social problems within the community and its membership. Churches had a 'court system' in dealing with cases ordinarily handled in civil courts--illegitimacy, adultery and drunkenness. The Blue Wing Baptist Church minutes offered many examples of 'withdrawing the right-hand of fellowship' for the above mentioned wrongs. Usually, those people would return to the church the following month to ask forgiveness. A woman was charged with committing adultery; after discussing her case, the membership proceeded to discuss the case of the man who was alleged to have been the father of the child. The defendant argued that he was not the father! "It was decided that Hewas not and by motion

⁹Orphan's Friend, February 5, 1886.

of the church it was decided to drop the case, and not bring it up anymore."¹⁰

Socializing of blacks in Granville County was most nearly confined to church or church-related gatherings. From an atmosphere of relative calm to the re-emergence of the Negro politician, most blacks lived in a steady, almost lackadaisical pattern. If all activities were not church or church-related, they were religiously based. Negroes in Granville County had little organized recreation; "visits, excursions, or meetings of organizations to which they belonged, especially the fraternal and secret societies"¹¹ gave them pleasurable outlets. Most towns and cities had local lodges of the Masons and Odd Fellows.¹²

It was in March, 1870, that the Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons of North Carolina, became a reality. Prior to this time, two lodges were organized in 1866 in New Bern and Wilmington (both in Black-Belt counties); in 1867 two more lodges were organized in Fayetteville and Raleigh, and in 1870 these four lodges met to form the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of North Carolina.¹³ Masonry in Granville County, as first organized,

¹⁰Blue Wing Baptist Church, Minutes, May 1900.

¹¹Frenise Logan, The Negro in North Carolina 1876-1894, p. 215.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Masonic Journal, ed. by R. Irving Boone (Raleigh, N. C.: Irving-Swain Press, Inc., 1970), Vol. X, p. 2.

was not of the Prince Hall affiliation according to early records. In 1888 the lodge in Oxford was written as Blooming Star Lodge No. 53 of Free and Accepted Ancient York Masons. The Master was Hanson T. Hughes, and H. C. Coghill (Cogwell) and Peter J. Cooke (Cook) were the wardens.¹⁴ When Blooming Star Lodge No. 53 changed, or if it was of this affiliation, is unknown. However, a January, 1900 entry in the Deed Book was Blooming Star Lodge No. 53 of Free and Accepted Masons.¹⁵ Whites praised fraternal organizations in some situations:

The remains of W. A. Bullock, a worthy young colored man, . . . native of Granville . . . popular among his race . . . member of Masonic Fraternity and the interment took place Monday afternoon under the auspices of the order.¹⁶

A similar organization was highly praised and accepted:

The Good Samaritan Lodge, of Oxford, tendered a reception Friday night to the juvenile branch at Cozart Hall. A large crowd was in attendance and the young people were in their glory. J. B. Kittral, a popular and highly esteemed colored citizen, was master of ceremonies and performed with ease and grace. This society is the means of great good among our colored citizens, and we are glad to see it flourishing.¹⁷

No records of the above organization were obtainable. During

¹⁴Granville County, Record of Deeds, Bk. 42, p. 593.

¹⁵Ibid., Bk. 53, p. 353.

¹⁶Oxford Ledger, June 22, 1894.

¹⁷Ibid., April 8, 1897.

this time sister organizations had not been formed. A wife's place was in the home. When the social organizations entered the political arena, a different story appeared--"Calling Them Down":

It is said that there is trouble among some of our colored people on account of politics. . . . It seems that some of the colored brethren and sisters have been hauled up in their lodges and churches because they traded with Democrats instead of Third-party men, who are now worshipping the shrine of "dear Ephriam" for revenue only. . . .¹⁸

Seemingly, just whatever blacks did met the approval of whites so long as that activity was politically and economically ineffective. The celebration of the Ninth Anniversary of the Colored Orphan Asylum was announced in the Ledger. A blanket invitation was extended to the public to attend the event to be held "Wednesday, July 31, 1892 on the grounds of the Orphanage . . . , The Masonic Order of Oxford and vicinity will turn out in full. . . . We sincerely hope that everybody will come prepared to take dinner with us and give a freewill offering. . . ." ¹⁹ Whites objected to an activity if it affected them economically, so Negro migration at the turn of the century attracted much attention. Many factors intervened in the movement of Negroes--economic, social and political reasons were most frequently

¹⁸Ibid., January 11, 1895.

¹⁹Ibid., July 12, 1892.

given. Usually Negro leaders and the white press tried to dissuade migration. Negro politicians and religious leaders discouraged emigration urging Negroes "to stand their ground against the exodus and to work and pray where they were and trust in God for the rest."²⁰ The Negro population decrease in North Carolina from 1880 to 1890 was 98,515,²¹ and Granville County population trends over the period also showed a decrease:

Year	Total Population	Non-white
1880	31,286	56.5%
1890	24,484	50.5%
1900	23,263	51.2% ²²

Generally whites were genuinely concerned with Negro migration. This was especially so in the 'black-belt' counties where whites depended on blacks for the labor force, thus, their concern was not unwarranted.

White Oxonians seemed convinced the Negroes left 'dear ole' Granville due to the fear of the disfranchisement amendment being passed. An editorial brief by John T.

²⁰Frenise A. Logan, "The Movement of Negroes From North Carolina 1876-1894", North Carolina Historical Review XXXIII (1956), 61.

²¹Ibid., p. 65.

²²County Population Trends: North Carolina 1790-1960--State, Region, County Residence Color (North Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina and Statistical Services Center--Budget Division Department of Administration--State of North Carolina, 1969), p. 44.

Britt read:

The negroes from Oxford and Granville county continue to go North. Some of them are leaving because they believe the Amendment will be carried and they will cease to be a political factor. We certainly hope it will be so.²³

In a December article economics was declared the reason. From 1890 to 1900 the total population of Granville County decreased 1,221 over the ten year period. This figure included a large number of whites who migrated to Durham. "We have lost several hundreds of our colored population. Most of whom went North while many sought tobacco centers in this State and South Carolina."²⁴

Negroes enjoyed activities popular in rural areas. It was their Christian duty to help a less fortunate neighbor build a barn or harvest his crop while the women helped each other with household chores--sewing and quilting were the most popular. Everybody feasted and exchanged the latest gossip of the community. The death of a community or church member served as a social gathering. Friends came from far and near for the 'wake' to console the family of the deceased and to pay their 'last' respects. Food was brought to serve during the wake and following the funeral.*²⁵

²³Oxford Ledger, June 14, 1900.

²⁴Ibid., December 6, 1900.

²⁵Interview with Ossie L. Cunningham, Sr., Mortician, Virgilina, Va., November, 1971.

*Negro funeral homes opened in the early 1920's.

Socially, few changes occurred in Oxford or the rural areas of the County from 1880 to 1900. Organizations offered minor changes by providing social outlets other than home entertainment, school activities and church. The appearance of improved transportation aided communication, but Negro movement was limited by the social conditions of the time. Whites were careful in keeping the Negro in his place, so any revolutionary change was impossible. Social change sparked political participation and whites profoundly objected to political involvement by Negroes due to experiences from the Reconstruction Era. Thus, there was always subtle 'white supremacy' machinery in operation to maintain the customary social order of the day.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE COUNTY

By studying the period 1880 to 1900, several political events occurred directly involving and affecting the Negro. Following on the heels of Reconstruction, some of the black officeholders still held their positions and the South was in political turmoil. Whites intimidated the black politicians and had regained much of their power. Upon regaining political control whites began restructuring the government to assure white domination. As the curtain opened, at the head of the nation was Rutherford B. Hayes, and James A. Garfield was sworn in to office soon thereafter. Zebulon Vance stepped down as North Carolina's chief executive followed by Governor Thomas Jarvis. Vance had been a friend to the newly freed black man.

The participation of Negroes in politics has been divided into three periods:

1. Reconstruction--Negroes with interlopers and sympathetic whites controlled the Southern States
2. Repression--radical whites restored to power.
3. The New Day-Negro in politics because of his worth and ability to render service.¹

Norman Andrews, "The Negro in Politics", Journal of Negro History, V (October, 1920), 420.

The allies and leaders of Negroes during Reconstruction arose out of three groups:

1. Southern whites who were regarded by other whites as men of the lowest possible order--"southern gentlemen refused to lower their dignity by political association with Negroes."
2. Adventurers from the North.
3. Intelligent leadership among Negroes.²

Our period of study opened in political repression and evolved into the New Day. This evolution, however, was just a scratch on the surface of a brief but impressive political era. Granville County can boast of having had blacks who served in government on the national, state and local levels.

Two distinct political parties existed in North Carolina following Reconstruction. The Conservative or Democratic party was composed of white men. The Republican party was composed of carpetbaggers, scalawags, and Negroes; complete control of the state government was their goal. From 1876 to 1894, the Democrats were successful in limiting Negro activity in politics. The emergence of the People's or Populist party in the 1890's, however, strengthened the Republican party and the Negro.³

Geography played an important role in Republican party growth in North Carolina. Western North Carolina was

²Ibid., p. 421.

³Helen G. Edmonds, The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina 1894-1901 (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), p. 8.

the stronghold of Republican rule. A clash of interests in the seaboard and mountain counties was the reason. There were in central and eastern North Carolina sixteen 'black counties' in 1890 where the Negro population exceeded 50 percent.⁴ Granville County was 50 percent or more black and Republican. Granville County and North Carolina did not distinguish races in election returns; therefore, it is impossible to know how many blacks voted in 1894, 1896, 1898, or 1900.

Geography also played a major role in attracting the Populist Movement to the state because of its agrarian population. Most Southern Populist were recruited from the rural classes of people who had usually been politically inarticulate. When this group joined forces with the Republicans and Negroes, Democrats prepared for their 'doom'. This 'doom' was only temporary, quite similar to the 'calm before the storm'. Democrats busied themselves in securing measures to prevent another Fusion Period, and to remove, forever, the menace of Negro politicians.⁵ Dr. Helen Edmonds feels that the history of the Fusion Period fell into two realms of thought--old thought condemned and new thought gave credit. New thought tended to remove

⁴Ibid., pp. 14-15.

⁵John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmer's Alliance and the People's Party (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), p. 410.

Negro-phobia from the Fusion Period.⁶ The writer will not exonerate the black politician, but will present the facts of the play. Then the actors' performances upon the political stage can be judged by new thought or old thought.

Perhaps, Granville County was not the hot-bed of racial political tension and was not written about in the history books for being the site of a bloody race riot, but be it known that Granville County was smoldering in racial political unrest. Local whites have quite successfully kept black political achievements concealed from the public. The extent of Negro known accomplishments in Granville County is that: (1) John Chavis, a native Negro, taught blacks and whites in the area in the 1850's; (2) H. P. Cheatham served in the United States Congress for two terms; and (3) George C. Shaw founded Mary Potter School. Nowhere could a black or white be found who knew that from Granville County went a state senator and five representatives; that black men served as coroner, justice of the peace, deputy sheriff, and jailor/commissioner; that other blacks ran for the Office of Register of Deeds and other local positions; and that white voters outnumbered black voters only by a small margin. Blacks in Granville County were politically active since Reconstruction. Below is

⁶Edmonds, Fusion Politics, p. 3.

listed the names of Negroes from Granville County who served in the North Carolina General Assembly:

County	Year	Senatorial District	Senators	Representatives
Granville	1868		Cuffie Mayo A.A. Crawford
Granville	1870		W.H. Reavis
Granville	1872		W.T. Hughes
Granville	1874		W.H. Crews H.T. Hughes
Granville	1876	21st.	H.T. Hughes	W.H. Crews ⁷
Granville	1893	21st.		W.H. Crews

Noticing that Granville County had not sent a Negro to the North Carolina Assembly since 1878, the Oxford Ledger in 1894 editorialized:

In Granville county time and prosperity rolled on until the fall of 1892 when its record shows that its own white men were the cause of its being represented by two negroes in the Legislature and having a negro coroner. . . .⁸

Searching the Oxford Public Ledger failed to unveil even a hint as to who the coroner was. Inquiries at the local courthouse also proved fruitless. The oldest employee knew of no official records listing the county officers, black or white. This also created a problem with the other local black officials who were appointed to their positions. In 1876, a County Government Act was passed and reenacted in

⁷Monroe Work, comp., "Some Negro Members of Reconstruction Conventions and Legislatures and of Congress During Reconstruction Period and After", Journal of Negro History, V (October, 1920), 76.

⁸Oxford Ledger, April 6, 1894.

1889 to protect black counties from black domination. North Carolina really sustained two systems in fairness to counties with white majorities. The 1876 Act empowered the legislature to name the county justices of the peace; the justices named the county commissioners.⁹ The Act of 1876 was amended in 1877 and 1889. According to the 1877 law, registration was to be held on Saturday and Monday before election; the new law of 1889 provided for the opening of registration books from Saturday to Saturday before the election. Liberal in appearance, this law empowered registrars to decide who was eligible to vote; therefore, a registrar could refuse to register persons at his own discretion. Whites' desire to keep the Negro vote to a minimum in the 'black counties' became a reality.¹⁰ Blacks were totally aware of the 1889 Act and its intentions. A Negro state senator, Henry H. Faulkner, made the following statement in 1889:

I do solemnly protest against the passage of the election law because I believe it will operate against my race and deprive them of the God-given rights that are guaranteed them by the Constitution of the United States, and ought to be held sacred, and will deprive the Eastern Counties of their legal representation.¹¹

⁹John Hope Franklin, Reconstruction: After the Civil War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 225.

¹⁰Logan, Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894, p. 59.

¹¹Ibid., p. 60.

Under this law William H. Crews served Granville County as a deputy sheriff, a justice of the peace, a constable for 12 years, a member of the Oxford School Committee; and, a Representative in the North Carolina General Assembly for four terms. Crews served in all these capacities before the Fusion Period.¹² Whites who appointed Negroes to positions were persona non grata to other whites. When William Royster was named jailor of Granville County, in 1894, the Ledger showed its reaction to the appointment:

If the wild waves are saying anything it must be about the leading Democrat on the Board of Town Commissioners giving a rank negro Republican politician \$18 per month to perform certain light duties, who when he gets fatigued lies down under the shade and sleeps the sleep of rabid Republican striker.¹³

Whites castigated Royster the entire time he served as the jailor because he carried considerable weight in the Board of County Commissioners. The case discussed in the chapter on socialization and from references concerning Royster's prestige among the Negroes would tend to support the idea that Royster was not of the learned class. His name did not appear in the Deed Books as a landowner, nor did his name appear in any recordings of the Granville County Criminal Minutes as the jailor. The mentioning of Reverend William Royster elicited no response from interviewees.

¹²Edmonds, Fusion Politics, p. 102.

¹³Oxford Ledger, June 22, 1894.

Unknown now, Royster was a KNOWN and hated black man in Granville County during the Populist Era. In an article denouncing the Populists and Negro officeholders, Royster was most viciously attacked:

If the Populists from any cause whatever refuse to meet them /Negroes/ halfway they, by their action, make it possible for this mongrel gang to control their affairs for the next 2 and 4 years with such an unprincipled negro as Rev. William Royster, S. P., the ruling spirit in county affairs, and general boss of Court House, Court Room and Jail.¹⁴

The county commissioners were all white, but the powerful influence of William Royster enraged the whites. Two articles tended to support the idea that Royster was actually a commissioner.

The board met on Monday 15th. with Messrs. J. A. Bullock, chairman, D. C. Farrabow, W. T. Lyon and C. M. Rogers present. Negro Bill Royster, General Boss, was absent but nevertheless was represented by a large delegation. . . .¹⁵

Another article in the same edition spoke of the domination the Negro had and called upon 'true' white men to end the reign of William Royster.

What a shame it is upon the good name of old Granville, that the white people should allow the negro Bill Royster to become dictator to the county commissioners, all of whom are white men? Well, well and this negro has become the ruler of old mother Granville, and struts the Court house corridor and with his black allies take posses-

¹⁴Ibid., October 29, 1896.

¹⁵Ibid., March 18, 1897.

sion of the offices.¹⁶

The political scene in Granville County was in turmoil. Republicans had the support of Negroes during the 1870's whether the candidate was black or white. A Democratic win was usually due to fraud. Only one President of the United States, Grover Cleveland, was a Democrat during the period of this study. A favorite device of the Democrats was 'divide and conquer'. Negroes were persuaded to run as many Negroes or Republicans as possible. By convincing Negroes that they were not fairly represented, more were placed on tickets. This happened in the 1884 election in Granville County where Democratic leaders, in alarm, "persuaded Tom Lewis and Banky Gee, influential Negroes, to call a rump Republican Convention."¹⁷ From this convention, support was withdrawn from the regular Republican candidates and it

. . . nominated Walter Patillo, "a sleek oily Negro /sic/ school-teacher" for the register of deeds and W. K. "SpottedBull" Jenkins, "a large, powerful, freckled faced fellow who raised cattle for the home market," for the state Senate.¹⁸

The Democrats' alarm was warranted. The popularity of the Negroes motivated the Democrats to finance the Republican

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Mabry, The Negro in North Carolina Politics Since Reconstruction, p. 27.

¹⁸Ibid.

regulars to hold the Negroes in check. The Fusion period produced many local black magistrates throughout North Carolina and Granville County can boast of its share of local black officials. One source estimated that 17 blacks served in appointed and elected positions in Granville County between 1895 and 1899.¹⁹

Granville County can also boast of the fact that the Negro legislators were elected before and during the Fusion period. William Henry Crews served Granville County as a representative to the State General Assembly. Born on October 11, 1844 a few miles from Oxford, Crews was taken from his mother at the age of two and was raised by a white family. His education was acquired in the public and private schools in Oxford.²⁰ In 1895, "the faces of the three Negroes blurred the appearance of the lily-white legislature."²¹ Crews and James Young of Wake County were representatives and A. R. Middleton was appointed as assistant door-keeper. The Ledger blamed the educational setback in the state on black legislators.

There is shown the rapid strides education was making in North Carolina under the old regime and its crippled condition under the school law as amended by the Doublassite Legislature composed of

¹⁹Ibid., p. 39.

²⁰Edmonds, Fusion Politics, p. 102.

²¹Ibid., p. 41.

such elegant reformers as Dalby, Crews and Company. In fact the whole gang of Republican Populists were nothing but spoil hunters. . . .²²

Whites who joined forces with Crews--Dalby and Company--were admonished for "putting such odious laws upon the people of our good old State."²³ The implication that Crews had no constructive interest in school affairs is clearly refuted by the educational bills he introduced in the Legislature.

In 1895, Crews introduced a bill proposing a normal school to prepare Negro teachers. This bill was defeated. Crews tried again in 1897 by presenting a bill for the creation of a North Carolina Industrial and Training School for Colored Teachers. His stated purposes were: (1) to give colored men and women such education and training as would fit them for work as professional teachers; and (2) to provide such industrial and liberal education and advanced methods of instruction as would render more efficient the colored schools of North Carolina.²⁴ The proposal was not defeated, however, no school was ever built. Other bills introduced by Crews shed light on the fact that interest in the Negro was deep in his heart. A bill to grant

²²Oxford Ledger, July 12, 1895.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Edmonds, Fusion Politics, pp. 103-104.

compensation to black Confederate veterans, their widows and children was rejected. Passed, however, was Crew's bill to prohibit women from working on chain gangs and streets. In 1898 he sought permission to use the General Assembly Hall for the Emancipation Day Celebration--permission was denied.²⁵ The resolution Crews submitted to the Assembly to consider granting a half day session in honor of Frederick Douglass had repercussions. The Douglass resolution was constantly brought up by Democrats who used the resolution as a 'red shirt': "a Negro has been honored while Washington and Lee had been ignored."²⁶

Crews was not the only Negro in Granville County to run for the position of representative in the State General Assembly. Hugh Tilley ran for the same position. He must have run for this position in 1896, according to the dates of the Ledger. Democrats tried every conceivable method to control the Populist Movement and coalition of Negroes.

Now will the Populist party, which has always claimed to be for principle above all things else unite with them in upholding this ticket, or will they allow themselves to be led into a division, and thereby elect two sable members to the legislature to re-enact the disgusting scenes of two years ago, which made the fair name of Granville a stench in the nostrils of good men . . . ?

. . . should the two negroes, Crews and Tilley, win it will mean two votes for Pritchard

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid., p. 42.

and the goldbugs. . . .²⁷

Whites were encouraged to vote, but not to aid in electing blacks to office.

The color line has been drawn again in Granville by the negroes, who abuse and villify the whites on every hand, and it remains to be seen how many white men will forsake their race and aid in the election of Billy Crews and Hugh Tilley, two negroes, to the Legislature. . . .²⁸

On the national political scene William McKinley and William Jennings Bryan were the major presidential candidates. The major platform was the gold and silver issue. Granville County was pro-silver and pro-Bryan; anti-McKinley, anti-gold and anti-Populist. Populists ran fusion tickets with the lily-white rather than the black-and-tan faction of the Republican party. Many Negro leaders supported the Conservative Democrats rather than Populists. Fusion resulted in the election of Negroes to Congress and to local positions.²⁹ The position of the Negro puzzled the white Republicans. Marion Butler, a young white Republican, felt that a solid vote would carry the fusion ticket. Other Republicans felt assured of carrying the State without the Negro vote. Negroes were upset by the statement.

²⁷Oxford Ledger, October 29, 1896.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹August Meier, Negro Thought in America 1880-1915 Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1968), pp. 37-38.

One Negro leader asserted that "if the negroes were to vote for Democrats they would make their own election."³⁰ Locally, the Ledger indicated that blacks voted Republican and turned to Democrats "begging them for wood and something to eat."³¹ The same article showed that Senator Mark Hanna, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, was immensely disfavored by the local Democratic element. Hanna, reputedly, bought the votes of blacks who voted against the interests of whites. Clarification of blacks voting for the party most beneficial to their interests was also presented. A black man was supposedly overheard on the street to remark that "he intended to vote for the side that would do him and his family the most good, as he had never gotten any aid from a Republican office-holder."³²

Friction was constant between the Fusionists, Republicans, and Democrats. Money proved to be one source of friction. Negro Republicans and white Republicans were accused of pocketing Democratic money; Democrats were alleged to have financed anti-fusionists.³³ No finger was pointed at any specific local individual. Party clashes eased as whites united on white supremacy and total disfranchisement

³⁰Oxford Ledger, August 10, 1894.

³¹Ibid., October 29, 1896.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., June 22, 1894 and July 12, 1895.

of the black voters. Black leaders were not unaware of the movement to remove them completely from the political stage as a reprinted article from an unidentified Negro paper in Durham revealed. The Negro was busily formulating plans to prepare himself for political battles. Meetings were held with statewide representation of blacks in Raleigh. The chairman of the meeting, James Latta, issued a plea to the Negro "to act for himself in all matters pertaining to his social, moral, financial, and political rights."³⁴ Latta urged black unification through the organization of local clubs which would place the Negro in a "position to demand recognition everywhere."³⁵ Membership lists were to be sent to James E. Shepard in Durham and Latta ended by pleading with Negroes: "Get down to work and be ready to fight. The negro must shake off his lethargy and rise."³⁶ Thus, blacks saw the 'handwriting' on the political wall, but whites also saw 'a handwriting' and formulated the most unscrupulous plans and set to motion the machinery to promote white supremacy.

In the 1896 election Daniel Russell became governor of North Carolina to the disgust of whites. White men in Granville were called to "rally to the polls on the 3rd. of

³⁴Ibid., July 12, 1895.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

November and vote to save his State and county from black rule headed by such a man as Dan Russell."³⁷ Daniel Russell was not a favorite candidate of Negroes. Although Russell was a Republican, many Negroes supported the Democratic candidate, William A. Guthrie. Russell lost much Negro support by a statement he is reputed to have made calling Negroes "savages who stole all week and prayed it off on Sunday; no more fit to govern or to have a share in governing than their brethren in the swamps of Africa."³⁸ Redemption for Russell, however, came in a well-timed bid for the Negro vote. He said that he stood for the Negroes and had a Negro woman nurse him in his youth. This statement alienated whites. Daniel Russell won the election by carrying the 'black belt' counties and became the first Republican governor since Reconstruction.³⁹

The registration in Granville County for 1896 showed that out of seventeen precincts, seven had a larger number of blacks registered. The total registration gave the figures on a racial designation--"whites 2,577 and colored 2,366."⁴⁰ Whites were gravely concerned over prisoners'

³⁷Ibid., October 29, 1896.

³⁸Mabry, The Negro in North Carolina Politics Since Reconstruction, p. 41.

³⁹Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), p. 519.

⁴⁰Oxford Ledger, October 29, 1896.

right to vote. In the fifth district criminals held the balance of political power. Eighty percent of the prisoners in the fifth district were registered Republican Negroes. A total of 977 was given for the entire district and Granville County had 85.⁴¹ Eighty-five votes would lessen the white majority giving criminals who could possibly vote, Negro Republicans, a decisive numerical force.

Disfranchisement of prisoners was not the major goal of white southerners, but removing all Negroes from the political stage was their intent. Franklin commented on disfranchisement:

The South universally hailed the disfranchisement of the Negro as a constructive act of statemanship. Negroes were viewed as aliens, whose ignorance, poverty, and racial inferiority were incompatible with logical and orderly processes of government.⁴²

Many extra-legal methods were employed to disfranchise Negroes before legally amending the constitution: (1) polls located far from Negro community; (2) roads blocked; (3) locale of polls changed; (4) stated change of location of polls; and (5) no uniformity in ballots.⁴³

With the cards stacked against Negro voters, complete disfranchisement was inevitable. Negro organizations,

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 341.

⁴³Ibid., p. 333.

liberal officeholders nor fusionists challenged the doggedness of Democrats. Governor Russell was the victim of the press. Also victimized were United States Senators Jeter Pritchard and Marion Butler.

Negro Pardoner Russell is going for the newspapers for attacking his miserable dirty carcass. They could not hit the man hard enough that makes it a point to do his best to degrade the white people of North Carolina every opportunity afforded. He has fallen so low that Negro Congressman White, who is a superior man to Russell, went with him on his recent visit to Washington to introduce him to the President. There are not words enough in the English language that can be put together to give just desserts.⁴⁴

Senators Butler and Pritchard received much of the same publicity. Russell was accused of 'negroing' the government through appointments. Election laws and county government laws resulted in the election of blacks to local offices in the eastern 'black belt' counties. But of the 818 appointments made by Russell in his first two years, only eight were blacks. Usually the appointments were to institutional boards and state agencies.⁴⁵ Of the appointments, Lefler stated that "the number and character of the offices held by Negroes hardly compared with the status of the Negroes as citizens, voters, and taxpayers, or indicated 'Negro domination' of the state."⁴⁶

⁴⁴Oxford Ledger, January 20, 1898.

⁴⁵Lefler and Newsome, The History of a Southern State: North Carolina, p. 520.

⁴⁶Ibid.

Democrats capitalized on the few black appointments to regain political control through an all out campaign of 'white supremacy'. Aiding in Democratic re-control was the discord among the Fusionists. Fusion was from its onset a 'marriage of convenience' in which Negro activity was the major factor in causing a marital split.

In 1898, at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Governor Russell put 'salt on the wound' of the black/white political relationship when James H. Young was commissioned as a colonel; Charles S. L. A. Taylor as Lieutenant colonel; Andrew J. Walker and Andrew Haywood as majors. Young commanded the Third North Carolina Regiment--nicknamed "Russell's Black Battalion".⁴⁷ This appointee proved to have been a native of Granville County.* Young was born in Henderson, North Carolina in October, 1858, of questionable parentage. He is reputed to have been the son of a prominent white man. James Young served in the State Legislature as a Representative from Wake County. Young's appointment as head of the Negro regiment "caused condemnation to be

⁴⁷Samuel A'Court Ashe, History of North Carolina 1783 to 1925 (Raleigh, N. C.: Edwards and Broughton, 1925), II, 1209.

*Henderson is the County seat of Vance County; however, the date of Young's birth was prior to 1881 when the annexation of Vance County occurred.

heaped upon Gov. Russell's head."⁴⁸

Local reaction to the War was a personal attack on local officials; especially, Billie Royster. The Ledger's story, "Left to Join Russell's Black Regiment", was designed to degrade and to try to convey the idea that blacks were disloyal to fulfilling their military obligations.

The Oxford negro company under the command of Capt. Tazwell Taylor received orders Friday . . . to leave . . . on a special train for Fort Macon. The company was composed of about 106 and the order . . . cause consternation in the ranks of the Russell braves. . . .

Some 54 of the boys failed to show up. . . . Saturday morning 51 of the company proved to have patriotism beating loyalty in their bosoms. . . .⁴⁹

The Spanish-American War was a short-lived diversion politically. Whites were determined to put Negroes in their place. White supremacy was preached. This supremacy became a reality at the passing of the disfranchisement amendment in 1900 and the election of Charles B. Aycock. Although labeled the "Progressive Governor", Aycock was a white supremacist and the benefits blacks reaped from his term in office was only an indirect harvest of what he had sown for whites. Education was the most bountiful harvest. Aycock's goal was to close the gap in white public education due to the Civil War and due to the lack of interest stemming from

⁴⁸Edmonds, Fusion Politics, pp. 97-99.

⁴⁹Oxford Ledger, July 7, 1898.

the plantation system. A larger allocation for education for whites resulted in larger allocations to blacks. To discuss Aycock's term fully would place us in another time period in which Negroes were politically dormant at the hands of whites who passed the disfranchisement amendment. Aycock was for the passage of the amendment.

The amendment was drawn with great skill. It was drawn after long thought, and with the full knowledge of the end to be attained. It was drawn with the deliberate purpose of depriving the negro of the right to vote, and of allowing every white man to retain that right. And I tell you now and here, did I believe that it would cause the oppression of a single man, or deprive one white man, however ignorant or humble, of his suffrage, I would not support it.⁵⁰

This speech in part led to his unanimous nomination in 1900 against the incumbent Russell and others. Russell expressed his concern. He knew that Negroes were embittered over the proposed amendment. It was his belief that the amendment would be passed and advised blacks "to let this amendment thing alone. It is going to be adopted and remain so until set aside by the courts. . . ." ⁵¹ In the same issue he showed that corruption abounded in politics:

With a free and fair vote the amendment would be defeated, but of course it will be

⁵⁰R. D. W. Connor and Clarence Poe, The Life and speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1912), p. 81.

⁵¹Oxford Ledger, July 25, 1900.

adopted. There is no way to prevent it. The democratic managers have got passion and prejudice aroused and have established a reign of terror in many locations. This they started out to do and have done.⁵²

After much corrupt political planning and deviousness whites accomplished their long-sought goal. Blacks no longer could vote and every white man maintained that sacred right. White was supreme and government was pure with the absence of Negroes. The state could now progress under the rule of Anglo-Saxons who worked ever so diligently to assure themselves that blacks would never again appear on the political stage. The all-encompassing amendment gave these voting qualifications:

Qualifications for registration: Every person presenting himself for registration shall be able to read and write any section of the Constitution in the English language. But no male person who was, on January 1, 1867, or at any time prior thereto, entitled to vote under the laws of any State in the United States wherein he then resided, and no lineal descendant of any such person, shall be denied the right to register and vote at any election in this State by reason of his failure to possess the educational qualifications herein prescribed: Provided, he shall have registered in accordance with the terms of this Section prior to December 1, 1908. The General Assembly shall provide for the registration of all persons entitled to vote without the educational qualifications herein prescribed, and shall, on or before November 1, 1908, provide for the making of a permanent record of such registration, all persons so registered shall forever thereafter have the right to vote in all elections by the people in this State unless

⁵²Ibid.

disqualified under Section 2 of this Article.⁵³

The amendment became effective immediately. In the South, Negroes were placed at the mercy of whites; white mercy proved to be non-existent. Upon leaving the United States Congress in 1901, George White stated that the Negro would return to the Congress.

Looking a few years in retrospect, H. P. Cheatham sat on Capitol Hill. Cheatham served in the Fifty-first and Fifty-second Congresses. Born in Granville County December, 1857, he was raised on the plantation of his father-master. Being the master's son, he experienced no hardships of slavery and received an education and graduated from Shaw University in 1882. Cheatham is reputed to have "always identified himself with the better class of white people."⁵⁴ As a resident of Vance County he served the Second Congressional District which did not include Granville. However, being the only black in the Fifty-second Congress, he was the spokesman for all blacks.

In the Fifty-second Congress Cheatham represented the agrarian class of people. He urged the passage of the anti-option bill which required dealers to pay taxes and have

⁵³North Carolina, Constitution, 1868, Art. VI, sec. 4. Section 2 stated the criminals were not entitled to the vote.

⁵⁴Smith, The Negro in Congress 1870-1901 (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), p. 121.

a license to sell certain products. Dealing in 'futures' and 'options' was economically disastrous to farmers who suffered at the fixed prices on cotton and other commodities. The anti-option bill would make "an adjustment of this most portentous evil in the industrial life of the nation."⁵⁵

In voting for the Force Bill, Cheatham made the following statement: "I have both races in my district. I want to cast my vote for the law which will be best not for one race or the other but for both equally."⁵⁶ Perhaps this contributed to Cheatham's declining popularity among Negro voters. Logan attributed the decline to over-expectations of Negroes for appointments and favors. Failure to comprehend complications involved in securing federal patronage, Negroes labeled him a "white folk's nigger."⁵⁷ This unpopularity led to his defeat in the 1892 and 1894 elections. Helen Edmonds stated that "Cheatham was not of weak caliber, and his political opponents measured him as a man of good graces and intellectual stature."⁵⁸ Without Negro confidence, Cheatham no longer mustered enough political strength to become a representative in the Congress. Granville County

⁵⁵A. A. Taylor, "Negro Congressmen a Generation After", Journal of Negro History, VII (April, 1922), 163.

⁵⁶Smith, The Negro in Congress 1870-1901, p. 122.

⁵⁷Logan, The Negro in N. C. 1876-1894, pp. 40-41.

⁵⁸Edmonds, Fusion Politics, p. 20.

has never forgotten about Henry Plummer Cheatham, but fail to realize that he technically represented the Second, not Fifth Congressional District.

Rich in unknown Black History, Granville County holds a wealth of untapped veins of information. Too many of the facts are lost to serve a full-course meal to the Negroes in Granville County. However, enough is available to inform the public of Negro activity--economic, social, religious, educational, and political--that refutes the Negro is without a history in Granville County.

SUMMARY

Disfranchisement ultimately served its purpose. Negroes were removed from the political arena not to return until almost a century later; especially, on the local level where blacks have just begun a gradual resurgence into politics. Black political involvement nationally and state-wide has boosted local involvement, but lack of educational and economic stability which was lost over the years of profound injustices and prejudices to blacks local involvement is limited. Coupled with this was the continual drain of young black talent resulting from northern migration that lasted until the late 1960's. Discouraged and disenchanted, many farmers sold their lands and joined the throngs heading to the industrialized cities of the Middle-and North-Atlantic states to find a better lot in life.

During the period (1880-1900), hope increased among Negroes. They had their own churches; community schools and a high school; an institution to care for their orphans; and Negroes in positions in the government representing their interests. The foremost interest, of course, was education through which all other goals could be attained. Through education, social equality would be a reality secured by political power which had been acquired by and would be

guaranteed by education of blacks. Thus, whenever bills calling for more taxes in support of public education were presented, Negroes favored them and whites disfavored them because they were of the same opinion of the value of education to Negroes. Whites felt that by favoring public education, they were aiding their own downfall at the hands of black politicians who were the products of public education at the white expense. Some whites favored black education only as advocated by Booker T. Washington in that this would not pose a threat politically or socially, and would help the state's economy.

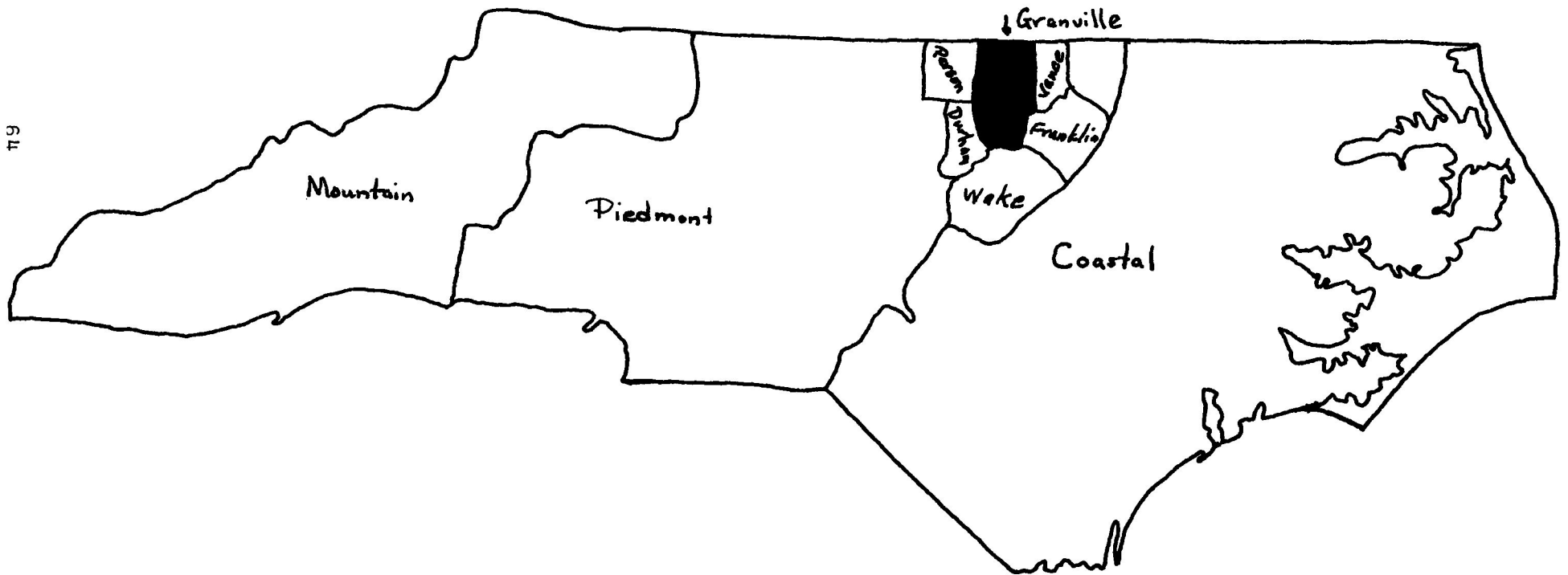
Growth in the county can be measured by the increase in the number of black churches, which usually meant an increase in schools, and by political involvement. Although many black churches were formed out of internal discord, economy and transportation were also factors. Mode of transportation was poor for blacks who compensated by building many small community churches rather than building a large central place for worship. Whites owned horses and buggies; blacks sometimes owned mules and wagons, but usually had to borrow them or walked to their destination. This limited mobility was a direct factor influencing wide-spread changes.

The geography of the county not only played a major role in economic growth and development, but influenced sectionalism within the county. In the southern area of

Granville County, Creedmoor and vicinity, the people formed strong economic ties with Durham and Durham County, and Raleigh and Wake County. The northeastern section developed ties with Person County and Virginia, while the western sections formed ties with Henderson and Vance County, and Franklin County. These ties are still prevalent in the employment pattern of the population. Largely due to its agrarianism, Granville County has resisted recent change just as it resisted change from 1880 to 1900. 'White Supremacy' ceased as a political plank, but has persisted in the minds and hearts of the white population, which has successfully held the reign of local government. This, in brief, provides the reader with a capsulized view of the local state-of-affairs in Granville County in 1880 to 1900, as well as the county of today.

Appendix I

REGIONS OF NORTH CAROLINA



Appendix II

OXFORD PUBLIC LEDGER

The Oxford Public Ledger began publication in 1881, in Granville County as a bi-weekly paper under the editorship of John T. Britt. Britt served as the editor throughout the score studied with his son becoming the co-editor in 1900. Affiliated with the Democratic Party, Britt showed his political bias continuously. Many articles reflected deep rooted racial prejudices. This was evidenced in an editorial in soliciting subscriptions and during 'white supremacy' when he denoted each Negro-related article with a tiny caricature of a black in formal attire (tuxedo). Britt became a commissioner in the county and later ran for other public offices. Pursuing these positions would take us into another time period.¹

¹Hays, Scrapbook.

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